LOST IN SCALES: BALKAN FOLK MUSIC RESEARCH AND THE OTTOMAN LEGACY

Abstract: Balkan folk music researchers have articulated various views on what they have considered Oriental or Turkish musical legacy. The discourses the article analyses are nationalism, Orientalism, Occidentalism and Balkanism. Scholars have handled the awkward Ottoman issue in several manners: They have represented 'Oriental' musical characteristics as domestic, claimed that Ottoman Turks merely imitated Arab and Persian culture, and viewed Indian classical raga scales as sources for Oriental scales in the Balkans. In addition, some scholars have viewed the 'Oriental' characteristics as stemming from ancient Greece.

The treatment of the Segâh family of Ottoman makams in theories and analyses reveals several features of folk music research in the Balkans, the most important of which are the use of Western concepts and the exclusive dependence on printed sources. The strategies for handling the Orient within have meandered between Occidentalism and Orientalism, creating an ambiguity which is called Balkanism.

Key words: The Balkans, the Orient, folk music research, scales.

The centuries of Ottoman domination in the Balkans had a marked effect on the populations and cultures of the peninsula. After the introduction of nationalism in the area during the first half of the nineteenth century, 'the Turkish yoke', or the Ottoman political and cultural influence, became a serious problem for the Western-oriented members of the educated classes. In their train of thought, national culture, including folk music, had to be free from foreign influences—including those of the Ottoman Turks.[1] Consequently, in the early 1900s, the intelligentsia found itself in an awkward position between the Ottoman past and the semi-European present.

By and large, this transitional ambiguity has endured to the present in folk music research in all Balkan countries. This paper addresses the views Balkan folk music researchers have articulated on what they re-

[1] See e.g., Karel A. Mahan, 'Nashata narodna muzika samostozatelna li e?', *Kaval*, 2 (1901), 1–5; Franjo Š. Kuhač, 'Turski živalj u pučkoj glazbi Hrvata, Srba i Bugara', *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini*, 10 (Sarajevo: Zemaljska štamparija, 1898), 216; also published as 'Das türkische Element in der Volksmusik der Croaten, Serben und Bulgaren. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Musikwissenschaft', *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina,* 6 (Vienna: Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1899), 545–584.

garded as Oriental or Turkish musical legacy in their respective countries.[2] The analysis concentrates on the construction of 'Oriental' scales and, more importantly, the manner in which Balkan scholars, in their discourses on nationalism, Orientalism, Occidentalism and Balkanism, have imagined Oriental music and perceived the cultural position of the Balkans between the Orient and Europe. Maria Todorova defines the differences between Orientalism and Balkanism as follows: '[W]hile Orientalism is dealing with a difference between (imputed) types, Balkanism treats the differences within one type.'[3] Thus, the two discourses relate to an imputed opposition between the West and the Orient on one hand and an imputed ambiguity in the Balkans on the other.

Nation-states create their own culture and history. Most narratives on national culture and the past are subject to national memory which, according to James Fentress and Chris Wickham, refers to the mode the upper middle classes and the intelligentsia in each country perceive the past. The official history that is taught at school and supported in the media constitutes national memory. National memory reconstructs, legitimises and maintains the nation-state and national culture.[4]

With few exceptions, Balkan narratives of the national memory interpret the multi-ethnic Ottoman past anachronistically as a struggle between the repressive Turkish culture and the suppressed national cultures of the non-Turks or non-Muslims. In addition, national memory represents most Ottoman musical traditions as uniformly Turkish and static, which strengthens self-identity as well as contributes to the construction of the Other.[5]

That said, let us have a closer look at the numerous multi-ethnic forms of music in the Ottoman Empire. Take, for instance, the flourishing Ottoman urban music culture in the cities and towns of the Balkans, Anatolia and the Levant. In the Balkans, that culture had many branches; a large part of the music café repertoire in Greece before the Second World War consisted of Ottoman popular pieces and new compositions in that style. Other Ottoman-influenced traditions are Greek *rebetika*,

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2 The pioneers of Balkan folk song studies originated from Central Europe rather than from the peninsula. Karel Mahan (Macháň; 1867–1923) was a Czech who settled in Bulgaria, whilst his fellow countryman Ludvík Kuba (1863–1956) travelled extensively in the Balkans. The scholar, pedagogue and music journalist Franjo Ksaver (Šaverijski) Kuhač (1834–1911) was a Croat from Osijek/Eszék.

3 Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1997), 19.

4 James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 127.

5 Maria Todorova, 'The Balkans: from discovery to invention', *Slavic Review,* 53 (1994), 455.

Macedonian *čalgiska muzika*, Bosnian *sevdalinke*, the older strata of *gradski pesni* or *starogradske pesme* ([old] town songs) of Bulgaria, Macedonia and Serbia, and the corresponding styles of Albania, Kosovo and Walachia.

Because of religious and cultural restrictions, public performers of music—especially women—in the Ottoman Empire were often non-Muslims, that is Ottoman Sephardic Jews, Ottoman Armenians and Ottoman Greeks. Even more commonly, Muslim and Christian Roma embarked upon careers in music. In addition, Ottoman Turks could work as singers and musicians, and in the Balkans, bands could include South Slavs and Albanians as well. Similar plurality expressed itself in the audiences of such ensembles during the late Ottoman period and the decades after it. During the reign of Abdülhamid II (1876–1909), music cafés gained considerable popularity as scenes for Ottoman urban music. The band type frequently associated with the cafés was ince saz whose basic repertoire consisted of Ottoman light classical music. Furthermore, more modest cafés offered other sorts of music.[6]

The well-preserved and detailed archives of the Austrian-Hungarian administration in Sarajevo document the presence of Ottoman musicians in Bosnia-Herzegovina in detail. Before the Great War, multi-ethnic ensembles of Ottoman semi-classical and popular music visited Bosnia-Herzegovina relatively frequently, and some groups stayed there for years. The band of Ferhad Ahmed (b. 1882 in Bandırma on the Sea of Marmara, Anatolia), which visited Sarajevo in autumn 1913, is an example of a multi-ethnic Ottoman group with Slavic musicians. The line-up consisted of the male musicians Ismail Regep (b. 1880 in Adrianople/Edirne) and Jovan Konstantinov alias Ivan Konstantinović (b. 1885 in Radoviš, Macedonia), and the female musicians Verleina Vortanos (b. 1892 in Contantinople) and Ratka Atanasova (b. 1878 in Šumen/Şumnu, Principality of Bulgaria).[7]

In addition to live performances, gramophone records also disseminated music in the Balkans. Ottoman and Turkish recordings from Constantinople/Istanbul, Ottoman Salonika and Smyrna/Izmir were available at least in Bosnia, Bulgaria and Greece till the Second World War. Furthermore, in Habsburg Bosnia, Roma musicians played and even re-

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[6] Mohamed Askari, Rudolf Brandl and Hans-Jörg Maucksch, 'Das volkstümliche Klarinettenensemble zwischen Orient und Balkan' in: Erich Stockmann (ed.) *Studia Instrumentorum Musicae Popularis,* 8 (Stockholm: Musikmuseet, 1985), 67–85; Martin Greve, *Die Europäisierung orientalischer Kunstmusik in der Türkei* (Frankfurt a/M: Peter Lang, 1995), 79–83; Risto Pekka Pennanen, 'The Nationalization of Ottoman Popular Music in Greece', *Ethnomusicology,* 48 (2004), 6.

[7] Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, Zemaljska Vlada Sarajevo, 21/21/476–1913.

corded Ottoman marches and popular music, and Ottoman-Greek café music was a major recorded genre in Greece from the mid-1920s to the mid-1930s.[8]

In spite of the multifaceted Ottoman past, Balkan national histories of music usually concentrate exclusively on local forms of Western art music, and national church and folk music. Historians marginalise Ottoman music in national discourse and tend to exclude it from the canon of national music. This marginalisation, or rather the negation of the Ottoman past, has had a long-lasting, powerful effect on Balkan folk music research: instead of historical facts, music studies are often based on an imagined Orient and speculative Oriental influence.

Representing Foreign as Domestic

Ever since the nineteenth century, folk music researchers in the Balkans have concentrated on intervals, tetrachords, pentachords and scales rather than melodic characteristics which are crucial for, among others, Ottoman modal systems called *makams* (Turk. sing. *makam*, pl. *makamlar*) and their rural equivalents *ayaks* (Turk. sing. *ayak*, pl. *ayaklar*).[9] Scholars have used scales for melodic classification and stratification, the central research methods in the Balkans and East Europe.[10] Thus, Balkan scholars have tended to apply a Western scale concept to musics which function more or less in terms of other principles.

In the West, one of the main Orientalist musical devices since the mid-nineteenth century has been the interval of the augmented second which composers have used for representing the Other, for instance Hungarian Gypsy, Turkish and Arabic music.[11] Figure 1 shows the interval in a

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[8] See Risto Pekka Pennanen, 'Greek Music Policy under the Dictatorship of General Ioannis Metaxas (1936–1941)', in: Leena Pietilä-Castrén and M. Vesterinen (eds.), *Grapta Poikila, 1* (Helsinki: Foundation of the Finnish Institute at Athens, 2003), 110–11; *Ibid*., 'Immortalised on Wax: Professional Folk Musicians and Their Gramophone Recordings Made in Sarajevo, 1907 and 1908' in: Božidar Jezernik, Rajko Muršič and Alenka Bartulović (eds.) *Europe and Its Other—Notes on the Balkans* (Ljubljana: Filozofska fakulteta, 2007), 120–121, 128–129.

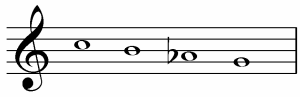
[9] For *ayaklar*, see Dan Lundberg, *Persikoträdgårdarnas musik. En studie av modal improvisation i turkisk folk- och populärmusik baserad på improvisationer av Ziya Aytekin* (Univ. of Stockholm: Stockholm, 1994), 90–99.

[10] See Oskár Elschek, 'Ideas, Principles, Motivations, and Results in East European Folk-Music Research' in: Bruno Nettl and Philip V. Bohlman (eds.), *Comparative Musicology and Anthropology of Music. Essays on the History of Ethnomusicology* (Chicago: The Univ. of Chicago Press, 1991), 97–98.

[11] Scott, Derek B., 'Orientalism and Musical Style', *The Musical Quarterly*, 82 (1998), 312–314.

descending tetrachord; the succession of notes is akin to the Hicaz tetrachord of Ottoman and Arabic music theory. Musical Orientalism was familiar to Balkan folk music researchers through their education in Western classical music. The augmented second as a musical emblem of the Orient is still a common notion in the West as well as in the Balkans.

Fig. 1: The 'Oriental tetrachord' containing the augmented second.[12]



Although the augmented second represents the Orient in the Orientalist discourse, it is not omnipresent in Ottoman classical music or other forms of Turkish music. As we shall see below, the absence of this emblematic interval usually leads Balkan scholars to switch to Occidentalist discourse and analyse makam melodies through 'ancient Greek modes', or more properly church modes.

Surprisingly enough, the standard Orientalist device has been represented as of non-Oriental origin in some Balkan nationalist discourses. In the 1890s, Franjo Kuhač offered an alternative view to the history of the augmented second.[13] According to him, Arabs and Turks did not initially use that interval in their scales and melodies. Instead, the augmented second originated from the Slavic minor scale (C-D-E♭-F-G-A♭-B-C) and South Slavic melodies; Turks and Muslim Slavs adopted the interval since it lends itself to courting and expressing melancholy.[14]

Furthermore, in the late 1920s, the Bulgarian composer and folk music theoretician Dobri Hristov (1875–1941) explained that the Turco-Arabic intervals of Bulgarian folk music, such as the half-flat fourth degree of *makam* 'Sebaa' (i.e., Sabâ) or the half-flat second degree of *makam* 'Ushak' (i.e., Uşşak), were not necessarily of Arabic origin; people hear such intervals in nature and imitate them. Hristov added that he has heard many times how a slowly boiling kettle or the dying embers of green wood in a stove produce melodic lines similar to the sad melodies of the *gaida* bagpipe.[15]

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[12] Vinko Žganec, 'Orijentalizmi u jugoslavenskom muzičkom folkloru', *Tkalčićev zbornik,* 1 (1955), 83.

[13] Kuhač, 'Turski živalj', 193.

[14] Kuhač used the terms *ašikovanje* and *melanholija*. The German translation (Kuhač, 'Das türkische Element', 562), however, used the terms *Liebesschwermuth* and *orientalische Melancholie* (i.e., love's yearnings and Oriental melancholy).

[15] Dobri Hristov, *Tehnicheskiyat stroezh na bŭlgarskata narodna muzika* (Sofia: self published, 1928), 45.

Both Kuhač and Hristov clearly have an agenda. As comparative musicology took interest in tuning systems, interval measurement and scales in the spirit of positivism,[16] Hristov concentrates on a particular interval of 'Sebaa'. An interval, however, cannot define a whole *makam*. Furthermore, the actual makam Sabâ is identifiable even in equal temperament as in Greek bouzouki music.[17] In point of fact, Hristov fails to mention that Bulgarian folk musicians used to play melodic formulae characteristic of *makam* Sabâ.

The myths of domestic intervallic genesis, which Kuhač and Hristov offer, try to purify national folk music from foreign influence: Dubious Oriental characteristics are not alien at all. Instead, in the latter case, intervals originate from the Bulgarian fireside and therefore they are national and pure. Correspondingly, it did not occur to Hristov that most dishes cooked on the Bulgarian stove, such as *shkembe chorba*, *yahniya* and *kavarma kebap*, derive from Anatolia and the Middle East.

Eluding the Ottomans

The cultural inactiveness of Ottoman Turks was an axiom of Orientalism during the early phases of Balkan musicology: Ottoman Turks merely imitated Arab and Persian culture. Take, for example, Kuhač's assertion that Turks were originally savages who did not have a culture. Poetry, singing or music made no difference for Turks until they came under the civilising influence of Arabs and Persians.[18] The unbridgeable incompatibility between Islam and Christianity, and the nomadic civilization of the Turks and the older civilizations of the Balkans and the Middle East was a common belief in Kuhač's time and even later.[19]

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Herbert Spencer's (1820–1903) theory of cultural evolution became an important model for structuring music history. Western savants saw all Oriental societies and cultures as being stuck on lower stages in the evolutionary process than the dynamic and innovative Western societies and high culture.[20] For

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[16] See Albrecht Schneider 'Psychological Theory and Comparative Musicology' in Bruno Nettl and Philip V. Bohlman (eds.), *Comparative Musicology and Anthropology of Music. Essays on the History of Ethnomusicology* (Chicago: The Univ. of Chicago Press, 1991), 293–317.

[17] Risto Pekka Pennanen, *Westernisation and Modernisation in Greek Popular Music* (Tampere: Univ. of Tampere, 1999), 77–79.

[18] Kuhač, 'Turski živalj', 176.

[19] See Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans,* 162.

[20] Martin Clayton, 'Musical Renaissance and its Margins in England and India, 1874–1914' in: Martin Clayton and Bennett Zon (eds.), *Music and Orientalism in the*

example, Kuhač was convinced that Middle Eastern culture and music had remained the same for five hundred years.[21] Given this, it was natural for Balkan musicologists to make references to Ottoman music through mediaeval Arabic treatises; mediaeval 'Arabo-Persian theory' facilitated ignorance of the subsequent Ottoman music, which, in any case, was no more than imitation of the 'Arabo-Persian' tradition. In the Balkans, the evasive term 'Arabo-Persian' has a long tradition from the mid-nineteenth century onwards in music publications by cantors of the Greek Orthodox Church.

Sometimes the term 'Arabic music' has been used as a euphemism for Ottoman music. In his 1976 article *Arabic Elements in Bulgarian Musical Folklore*, the Bulgarian folk music researcher Stoyan Dzhudzhev (1902–98) seemed to abandon Rauf Yekta's[22] classic text on Ottoman music as the basis for his theories.[23] According to him, '[n]owadays the term "Arabic music" does not only mean Bedouin and nomad music of the Arabian Peninsula; it refers to the music of a vast area comprising such peoples as Arabs, Persians, Syrians, Egyptians, Iraqis, Azerbaijanis, Turks, Afghans, Maghrebians, etc.' The sudden shift of emphasis to Rouanet's[24] writings on Arabic music must have been a reaction to the heightened anti-Turkish atmosphere in Bulgaria and a means to defend the theoretical frame of reference.[25] Dzhudzhev's terminology, however, still remained basically Ottoman.[26]

British Empire, 1780s to 1940s: Portrayal of the East (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 75–76.

21 Kuhač, 'Turski živalj', 190–191, 216.

22 Rauf Yekta Bey, 'La musique Turque' in: Albert Lavignac (ed.), *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire* (Paris: Librairie Delagrave, 1922), vol. V, 2945–3064.

23 Stoyan Dzhudzhev, 'Arabski elementi v bŭlgarski muzikalen folklor', in: Stoyan Dzhudzhev, *Muzikografski eseta i studii* (Sofia: Muzika, 1977), 146–161; originally published in *Bŭlgarski folklore,* 2 (1976).

24 Jules Rouanet, 'La musique arabe' in: Albert Lavignac (ed.) *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire* (Paris: Librairie Delagrave, 1922), vol. V, 2676–2944.

25 For further references to 'Arabic' influences in: Bulgarian folk music, see Karel A. Mahan, 'Perso-arabski motivi v bŭlgarskite napevi', *Bŭlgarski pregled spisanie za nauka, literatura i obshtestven zhivot,* 2 (1895), 90–96; Samokovlieva, Mariya, 'Arabskata muzika i bŭlgarskata narodna muzika', *Godishnik na Akademiyata za muzikalno i tantsovo izkustvo*, (Plovdiv: Akademiya za muzikalno i tantsovo izkustvo, 1995), 44–50.

26 Dzhudzhev ('Arabski elementi', 154–155) found exact similarities between the rhythms of Bulgarian folk songs and the *usul* rhythmic modes of classical Arabo-Ottoman classical music, *usul semai* in 10/4 being a good example. For the most part, this presumed similarity is wishful thinking due to differences in tempo and the

One can also elude the Ottomans by going geographically further away from Anatolia. In the 1950s, Yugoslav folk music and dance researchers in particular began taking an interest in southern Asia.[27] They found suitable equivalents for Balkan scales in introductory books of Indian classical *raga* scales.[28] The newly independent post-colonial India was a culturally neutral and politically acceptable area, thus forming a suitable reference for scholars in socialist countries. Moreover, the presence of musically extremely active Roma of Indian origin in the Balkans strengthened the hypothetical links between the age-old Indian classical and Balkan folk music.[29] In the midst of their fervent speculations, the scholars ignored performance practice and its change during past centuries or even millennia.[30] Once again we meet the old Orientalist notion: Eastern cultures do not change.

Another approach to the awkward Ottoman issue has been the return to the alleged roots of civilization; in the nineteenth century, European travellers and scholars commonly supposed that the Old Bridge in Mostar was of Roman origin since they considered such a demanding construction impossible for the Turks.[31] In musicology, scholars used the surviving theoretical writings from ancient Greece for analysing folk music. The Occidentalist myth of classical Greece as the cradle of Western civilization was so powerful that from the 1860s onwards even Czech and Slovak musicologists tried to analyse their own folk music through the tone groups of Greek theories.[32] A similar situation prevailed in the theories of neo-Byzantine church music and Ottoman classical

relationship of note values to the basic time unit. The comparison is solely based on written representations of Arabic and Ottoman music theory without any reference to live music and performance practice.

27 See e.g., Žganec, 'Orijentalizmi', 87–89; Ljubica and Danica Janković, 'Tragom našeg najstarijeg orskog kulturnog nasleđa', *Glasnik etnografskog muzeja u Beogradu,* 20 (1957), 74–77.

28 Alain Daniélou, *A Catalogue of Recorded Classical and Traditional Indian Music. With an Introduction on Indian Musical Theory and Instruments* (Paris: Unesco, 1952).

29 For a considerably earlier view in a similar vein, see Branimir Marijić, *Volksmusik Bosniens und der Herzegowina* (unpubl. PhD diss. Univ. of Vienna, 1936), 58.

30 Janković, 'Tragom', 74–77; Borivoje Džimrevski, *Čalgiskata tradicija vo Makedonija* (Skopje: Makedonska kniga, 1985), 10–12; Gheorghe Ciobanu, 'Les modes chromatiques dans la musique populaire roumaine', *Izvestiya na Instituta za* muzika, 13 (1969), 386–389.

31 Božidar Jezernik, *Wild Europe. The Balkans in the Gaze of Western Travellers* (London: Saqi, 2004), 196–203.

32 Ladislav Burlas, 'Die Stilentwicklung der slowakischen Musik im Lichte der musikwissenschaftlichen Forschung' in: Oskár Elschek (ed.), *Entwicklungswege der Musikwissenschaft* (Bratislava: Veda, 1986), 18.

music: Archbishop Chrysanthos of Madytos (ca 1770–1846) had a strong ideological motive for reintroducing ancient Greek theoretical concepts into church music. In Ottoman theory, Rauf Yekta referred to octave scales consisting of tetrachords and pentachords with illogical results in the context Ottoman classical music.[33] His immediate followers continued exploiting modified ancient Greek and modern Western concepts.[34]

Ludvík Kuba, a Czech specialist of Slavic folk music, used a system of 'ancient Greek modes' in many of his analyses of South Slavic music and found the 'Oriental scale' as an echo of Turkish influence unessential in his corpus of Bulgarian folk songs.[35] However, in his studies on Bosnian music Kuba accepted the 'Oriental scale' as a part of Bosnian Ottoman-influenced urban music culture.[36]

Some Greek musicologists and musicians still take pains to explain that their national music is purely Greek, stemming from ancient Greece via Byzantium. Cultural continuity of several thousand years is one of the basic features of the Greek myth of national culture.[37] This tendency is obvious, although unstated, in Lambros Liavas' study on folk music instrumentalists in the Evros Prefecture, Greek Thrace.[38] Despite the fact that the instrumentation and repertoire of several Thracian orchestras Liavas interviewed are related to the Ottoman café music tradition, no traces of *makams* appear in the music analyses. Instead, Liavas uses a neo-Byzantine scale system of Greek church music without stating his reasons at all.

Outside Greece, Miodrag Vasiljević (1903–63) was one of the leading figures who drew upon ancient Greek terminology, for instance that of Aristoxenos, in the theory of folk music. Vasiljević constructed

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33 Rauf Yekta Bey, 'La musique Turque'.

34 Iannis Zannos 'Intonation in Theory and Practice of Greek and Turkish Music', *Yearbook for Traditional Music,* 22 (1990), 46–49 *passim*; Bülent Aksoy, 'Towards the Definition of the Makam' in: Jürgen Elsner and Risto Pekka Pennanen (eds.), *The Structure and Idea of Maqām: Historical Approaches* (Tampere: Univ. of Tampere, Dept. of Folk Tradition, 1997), 8–12.

35 Ludvík Kuba, 'Tonalnostite v bŭlgarskite napevi', *Sbornik za narodni umotvoreniya, nauka i knizhnina,* 14 (1897), 663.

36 Ljudevit Kuba, 'Pjesme i napjevi iz Bosne i Hercegovine', *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini,* 18 (1906), 194–195; see also Franjo Kuhač, 'Starogrčki motivi u našoj narodnoj glazbi', *Nada,* 1 (1895), 51–55; also published in Bulgarian in *Kaval,* 1 (1895), 77–82.

37 See e.g., Lakis Halkias, *2500 hronia Elliniki mousiki* (Athens: Kendro Ellinikis Mousikis Halkias, 1999).

38 Lambros Liavas, 'The Musical Instruments of Evros: Tradition and Modernity' in: Loukia Drulia and Lambros Liavas (eds.), *Music of Thrace. An Interdisciplinary Approach: Evros* (Athens: The Friends of Music Society, 1999), 249–318.

scales such as 'the antique major' (*antički dur*), the basic scale of Serbian folk music.[39] The scale is based on the symmetry of tetrachords, which is an intellectually beautiful theoretical device. In Western terms, however, the scale has a minor rather than major character. In the light of modern research, the use of ancient Greek treatises is not without severe problems. Representing octave scales as consisting of diatonic, chromatic or enharmonic tetrachords and pentachords, writing them in descending form, and naming them after the classical Greek practice is hardly sufficient for establishing anything.[40] One can also justly question the relevance of the theories in modern contexts: Claiming a cultural continuity from antiquity to the present is skating on very thin ice. It goes without saying that Vasiljević's theory met severe criticism.[41]

After discussing the strategies of denying or disguising Ottoman Turkish musical influence, we should keep in mind that especially in Titoist Yugoslavia, scholars often recognised the strong Ottoman impact on, for example, Bosnian music.[42] Such scholars, however, did not apparently know much about Ottoman music; Vlado Milošević tried to analyse Bosnian Quranic recitations through church modes.[43]

Scholars and their Scales

Several branches of Balkan folk music research tend to discuss the influence of Ottoman makams on national folk music by constructing and comparing scales. Although one can form makam scales theoretically by combining trichords, tetrachords and pentachords, scales as such are insufficient for defining *makams*. Karl Signell observes that makams have several characteristics through which they can be identified.[44] These features are: (a) scale intervals, (b) stereotyped motives and phrases, (c) *seyir* or the sequence of tonal centres, (d) typical modulations, and (e)

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[39] Miodrag A. Vasiljević, *Jugoslovenski muzički folklor, 1. Narodne melodije koje se pevaju na Kosmetu* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1950), 350–355.

[40] See e.g., *Ibid.*, 'Kvalitativne funkcije tonova u tonalnim osnovama našeg muzičkog folklora' in M.S. Lalević (ed.), *Treći kongres folklorista Jugoslavije držan od 1–9. IX. 1956. godine u Crnoj Gori* (Cetinje, 1958), 199–209; Ghizela Sulițeanu, *Muzica dansurilor populare din Muscel-Argeş* (Bucarest: Editura Muzicală, 1976), 56–59.

[41] See Milenko Živković, 'Tonalni problem narodnih melodija', *Zvuk* 4–5 (1955), 145–157.

[42] Vlado Milošević, *Sevdalinka* (Banja Luka: Muzej Bosanske krajine, 1964), 32.

[43] *Ibid.*, 'Melografija arapskih testova "Suretun-nahl" i "Salla"' in Desanka Kovačević-Kojić (ed.) *Radovi*, 73 (Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 1983), 57–70.

[44] Karl Signell, *Makam: Modal Practice in Turkish Art Music* (Seattle: Asian Music Publications, 1977), 149.

tessitura.[45] It is important to realise that the Ottoman-Turkish *makam* system is not unchanging or monolithic: The system has undergone tremendous modifications in both theory and practice during the last hundred years. The twentieth century has seen significant differences in intonation habits, performance practice and theoretical representation.[46] In addition, non-classical traditions tend to have their own musical practices and aesthetics; popular and folk tunes rarely follow the rules of classical *seyir* and may contain modified tonal structures. Furthermore, makam-specific melodic formulae and modulations may be different in classical and popular styles.[47]

Balkan folk music researchers have typically obtained their information on *makams* exclusively from printed sources with no references to actual performance practice. Such a mode of inquiry brings about difficulties in understanding *makams* with the theoretical final on the note segâh (b♭^{1}) and the melodic dominant or *güçlü* on nevâ (d^2). This group of makams consists of Segâh and its close relatives Müstear and Hüzzam. *Makam* Segâh and its rural counterpart Misket *ayağı* are common in Balkan music but since the narrow-range, restricted form of this *makam* lacks the Orientalist augmented second, scholars exclude such melodies and their scales from the Orientalist folk music discourse.[48]

Makam Segâh of Ottoman classical music contains various components which can be analysed as genera (see Figure 2). Segâh melodies in popular and folk music, however, often lack some of the elements listed here. Restricted Segâh melodies do not descend below the final. They exclusively utilise the notes of the Segâh trichord and the Rast tetrachord on nevâ (d^2) or the corresponding Buselik tetrachord (see Figure 3a).

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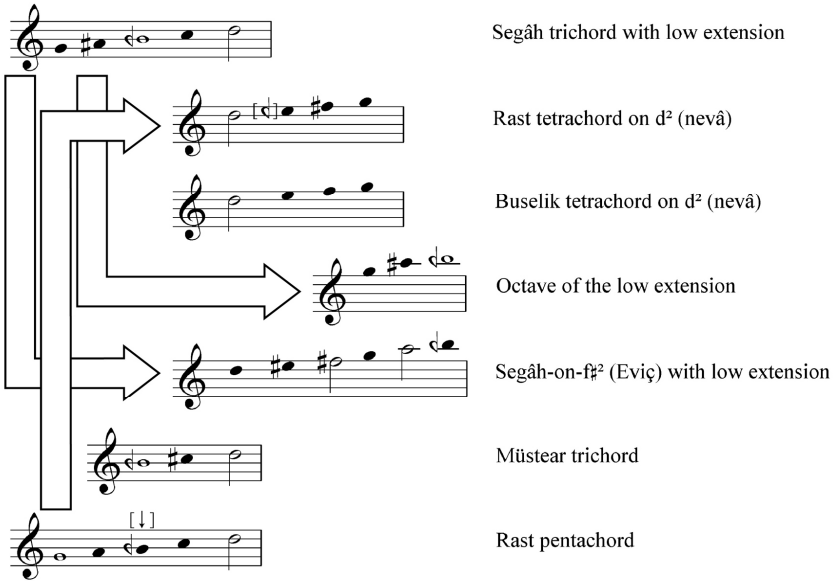
45 See also Aksoy, 'Towards the Definition', *passim*.

46 I am indebted to Martin Stokes for drawing my attention to these developments. See Aksoy, 'Towards the Definition'; Karl Signell, 'Esthetics of Improvisation in Turkish Art Music', *Asian Music*, 5 (1974), 45–49; *Ibid*., 'The Modernization Process in Two Oriental Music Cultures: Turkish and Japanese', *Asian Music*, 7 (1976), 75–82. For the relationship between theory and intonation habits in contemporary Egypt, see Scott Marcus, 'The Interface between Theory and Practice: Intonation in Arab Music', *Asian Music*, 24 (1993), 39–58.

47 See Pennanen, *Westernisation*, 44–58.

48 For Misket *ayağı*, see Lundberg, *Persikoträdgårdarnas musik,* 94–95, 202–216.

Fig. 2. Makam Segâh as genera.



The confusion in the Balkan analyses of Segâh, Müstear and Hüzzam scales and melodies stems from the understanding of the terms 'final' and 'tonic'. 'Final' is the concluding scale degree of any melody said to be in a mode. 'Tonic' has a three-fold meaning: firstly, in the major-minor tonal system, it is the main note of a key after which the key is named, secondly it is the name of the degree of that note and thirdly, it is the triad built on that note. Western melodies usually finish on the tonic note. As Harold Powers observes, the near synonymity of 'final' and 'tonic' has remained a pervasive notion of Western music culture.[49] This assumption has had a considerable effect on the analysis of various non-Western musics.

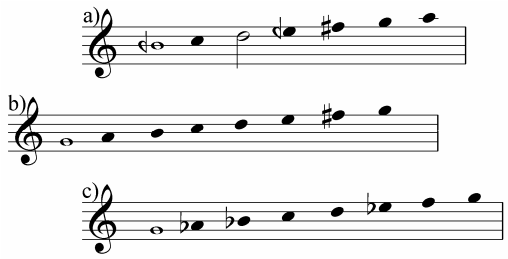
In analysis, Balkan musicologists have used two basic approaches for interpreting the restricted Segâh scale: the tonic-orientation and the final-orientation. Tonic-orientation follows the Western concept of final-tonic by filling up the gap between the root of I and the final with the note a1 that usually does not appear at all in the melodies (see Figure 3b).[50] The position of the final on the third degree of the artificially

[49] Harold S. Powers, 'Final' in: S. Sadie (ed.), *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 20 vols.* (London: Macmillan, 1980), vol. VI, 558.

[50] Non-classical traditions have developed a modified form of *makam* Segâh that utilises the low extension of the Segâh trichord with the note a♯[1] and finishes on g[1]. For

constructed scale does not affect the scale classification which is dictated by the root of I. This Western concept leads to the total absorption of restricted Segâh melodies into the Western major scale. The restricted *makam* Segâh as 'major scale finishing on the third degree' implies Western influence on the melodies, or even their Western origin, which is often debatable in Balkan folk music.[51]

Fig. 3. a) The restricted makam Segâh as a scale, and its b) tonic-orientated and c) final-orientated interpretations.



Because the final of this scale seems to be on the third degree, it is known as the E♭ major tonality or the major of the third (*tercni dur*)[*] in Yugoslav scholarly discourse. For some time, Yugoslav scholars were puzzled upon finding this scale in Bosnia, Dalmatia and as far in the south as in Macedonia. In the early 1950s, Vinko Žganec speculated that such melodies were originally in the Phrygian mode but singing in parallel thirds subsequently transformed them into E♭ major, whereas Miodrag Vasiljević based his hypothesis on the playing techniques of folk instruments.[52] The Yugoslav discourse claimed that the E♭ major tonality originated from Dalmatia, a coastal region that had been under Venetian influence for a long time. This explanation seemed to solve the quandary, and restricted *makam* Segâh melodies of Macedonia became a

such Segâh tunes in *rebetika*, see Pennanen, *Westernisation*, 34–38; for Macedonian examples, see Džimrevski, *Čalgiskata tradicija*, 179–220, 214.

51 See e.g., Béla Bartók and Albert B. Lord, *Yugoslav Folk Music. Serbo-Croatian Folk Songs and Instrumental Pieces from the Milman Parry Collection, 4 vols.* (Albany, N.Y.: State Univ. of New York Press, (1978 [1951]), vol. I., 61; Vinko Žganec 'The Tonal and Modal Structure of Yugoslav Folk Music', *Journal of the International Folk Music Council,* 10 (1958), 19.

* The note of the Editorial board: In Serbian ethnomusicology it is considered that the term *tercni dur* was introduced by Miodrag Vasiljević.

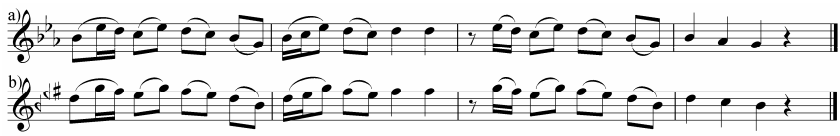
52 Vinko Žganec, 'Osnovni stilovi hrvatskih narodnih pjesama' in: Vinko Žganec and Nada Sremec (eds.), *Hrvatske narodne pjesme i plesovi,* 1 (Zagreb: Seljačka sloga, 1951), 9; Miodrag A. Vasiljević, 'Struktura tonskih nizova u našoj muzici' in: Zorislava M. Vasiljević (ed.), *Narodne melodije s Kosova i Metohije* (Knjaževac: Nota, 2003), 354.

part of 'Western influence from the Mediterranean'.[53] Here we can see how a narrowly national perspective tends to block scholarship. How could Venetian and Dalmatian influence explain the E♭ major tonality in Greek *rebetika* or Bulgarian folk music?

We will now move on to consider final-orientation, which is a way of viewing the concept of the final-tonic which totally ignores chordal and implied harmony. This pattern rests on the assumption that melodies always finish on the tonic. When scholars interpret the final as tonic, they classify the unmistakably major-key-sounding restricted Segâh melodies erroneously as Phrygian (see Figure 3c). It actually looks as though final-oriented analyses are based solely on written notation and do not take into account what is actually heard in performance.

The distorting effect of the final-orientation on *makam* Segâh melodies becomes evident when comparing the two representations of a Macedonian tune in Figures 4a and 4b. Borivoje Džimrevski analyses the melody as the ancient Greek Dorian (i.e., the modern Phrygian) scale which for him equates to *makam* Mahajer Ćurdi.[54] In a similar vein, practically all melodies Stoyan Dzhudzhev presents to exemplify the ancient Greek Dorian and Mixolydian or Hyperdorian (i.e. the modern Locrian) modes can be readily analysed as *makam* Segâh tunes.[55]

Fig. 4. The last section of *Askersko oro* which The Tikveš Čalgija Band recorded in 1939 as a) Džimrevski's transcription and b) written in the theoretical pitch of *makam* Segâh by RPP.



As we have seen, the peculiarity of the b♩[1]-based *makams* from the conventional Western viewpoint is the fact that on paper these scales

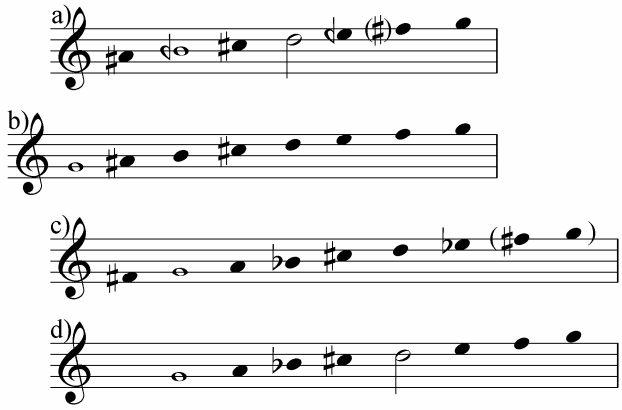
[53] Dragoslav Dević, 'Stylistic-Genetic Characteristics of Tonal Relationships in Serbian Folk Songs' in: Miško Šuvanović (ed.), *Exclusivity and Coexistence* (Belgrade: Faculty of Music, 1997), 221. For Miodrag Vasiljević's interpretation of the *tercni dur*, see Jelena Jovanović, 'Marginalije Miodraga Vasiljevića o studiji Bele Bartoka *Morfologija srpsko-hrvatskih narodnih melodija'*, *Muzikologija*, 6 (2006), 382–383.

[54] Džimrevski, *Čalgiskata tradicija*, 173, 440. Strangely enough, some other scales in the 'ancient Greek Dorian' category do not have their final on g[1]; Džimrevski actually shifts the final in order to find matching interval structures for his scale formations.

[55] Stoyan Dzhudzhev, *Bŭlgarska narodna muzika. Uchebnik,* 2 vols. (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1970), vol. I, 276, 278, 298; cf. Lidiya Litova-Nikolova, *Bŭlgarska narodna muzika. Uchebnik zasrednite muzukalni uchilishta* (Sofia: Muzika, 1995), 163.

seem to have a minor character, but in performance they are unquestionably in major. Consider *makam* Müstear in Figure 5a, which shares most genera with *makam* Segâh. Müstear, however, stresses the Müstear trichord, descends only to the leading note a#[1] (kürdi) and does not utilise the Rast pentachord. Greek and some Serbian and Romanian scholars have recognised the true nature of makam Müstear through its affinity with Ottoman *makam* Segâh or Legetos *ichos* of Orthodox church music.[56] In Figure 5b, we see a rare case of tonic-oriented interpretation of Müstear.[57]

Fig. 5. a) Basic *makam* Müstear as a scale, b) its tonic-orientated interpretation, c) *maqam* Hisar as *makam* Myustaar and d) Dzhudzhev's Bulgarian Myustaar.



The main reason for discussing Müstear is not the tonic-orientation but something rather unexpected: Figure 5c may look like a final-oriented version of Müstear, but actually it is a case in point of a far-reaching human error. This strangely distorted interpretation of Müstear originates from the influential study *The Technical Structure of Bulgarian Folk Music* by Dobri Hristov, who described makam Müstear as an equivalent of 'the minor scale with raised fourth and seventh degrees'.[58] Even though he failed to mention it, Hristov used Abraham Zevi Idelsohn's (1882–1938) famous study on Arabic *maqamat* (sing. *maqam*) as his source. He cited Idelsohn's list of Egyptian *maqamat* carelessly, describing Hisar as Musta'ar.[59] The blunder passed on to later genera-

[56] Vasiljević, *Jugoslovenski muzički*, 367; Ciobanu, 'Les modes chromatiques', 389.

[57] Sulițeanu, *Muzica dansurilor,* 58–59.

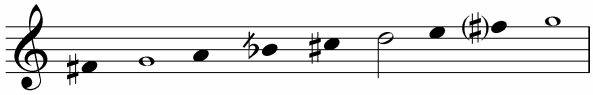
[58] Hristov, *Tehnicheskiyat stroezh*, 74.

[59] See A. Z. Idelsohn, 'Die Maqam der arabischen Musik', *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft,* 15 (1913–14), 1–66.

tions and in his theory of Bulgarian folk music, Stoyan Dzhudzhev presented Hristov's interpretation as the 'Turkish Myustaar' and noted its similarity with the Hungarian Gypsy minor.[60] For his own purposes, Dzhudzhev created the 'Bulgarian makam Myustaar' by raising the sixth and lowering the seventh degree of Hristov's scale (see Figure 5d).[61] Žganec[62] and his followers[63] found an equivalent for the 'Turkish Myustaar' in Alain Daniélou's[64] article on Indian classical music, namely the Carnatic *raga* Çrimhandra.

We should now consider one further point. A careful observer would notice that Müstear is a rather uncommon *makam* even in Ottoman classical repertoire. Notwithstanding the appearance of the Müstear trichord in brief passages in other *makams*,[65] it would be extraordinary to perceive a considerable number of Müstear tunes in Balkan rural or urban folk music. Instead of Müstear or Hisâr, many Balkan folk tunes are in *makam* Nikrîz (see Figure 6) or in its rural equivalent Yanık Kerem *ayağı*.[66]

Fig. 6. *Makam* Nikrîz as a scale.



Let us turn to *makam* Hüzzam, the third member of the Segâh family (see Figure 7a). Following Rauf Yekta,[67] Dzhudzhev points out accurately that the third step is the 'dominant' tone (see Figure 7b).[68] He finds the Hüzzam (or Huzam) scale in Bulgarian folk music, notes the narrow range of rural Huzam melodies and adds that the lowered second degree lends the scale a Dorian (i.e., Phrygian) character. Confusingly, Dzhudzhev seems to realise the quality of the Hüzzam scale correctly in his music examples but simultaneously he undermines it theoretically.[69] Judging

60 Stoyan Dzhudzhev, *Teoriya na bŭlgarskata narodna muzika: Melodika*, 4 vols. (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1955), vol. II; *Ibid*., *Bŭlgarska narodna,* 316–324.

61 Litova-Nikolova, *Bŭlgarska narodna,* 176–179.

62 Žganec, 'Orijentalizmi', 87–88.

63 See e.g., Metodi Simonovski, 'Orijentalizmi u tonalnoj graši naših narodnih melodija', *Zvuk* 26–27 (1959), 225.

64 Daniélou, 'A Catalogue'.

65 See e.g., Džimrevski, *Čalgiskata tradicija*, 195, 214.

66 See Lundberg, *Persikoträdgårdarnas musik,* 94.

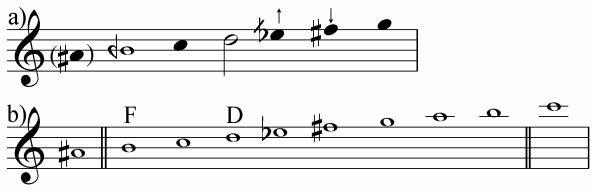
67 Rauf Yekta Bey, 'La musique Turque', 3007.

68 Dzhudzhev, *Bŭlgarska narodna,* 325–326.

69 Cf. Litova-Nikolova, *Bŭlgarska narodna,* 182–183.

from his analyses of Segâh melodies as the ancient Greek Dorian (modern Phrygian), Dzhudzhev apparently views his Huzam as a minor-based scale, thus employing the final-oriented approach.[70]

Fig. 7. a) The basic makam Hüzzam as a scale and b) Dzhudzhev's Turkish Hüzzam.[71]



The treatment of the Segâh family *makams* in various Balkan countries reveals several features of folk music research in the area. Firstly, the confusingly Western-like *makam* Segâh melodies can lead into two sorts of misinterpretations, both of which employ Western scale concepts, failing to capture the essence of Segâh melodies. Secondly, a human error led to the transformation of the *makam* Müstear scale, or the misnaming of the *maqam* Hisar scale, in Bulgaria. The results are confusing for a scholar familiar with Ottoman *makams*, and they also exemplify the low number of sources and the quality of source criticism at the very least in the Bulgarian academic tradition of folk music. Thirdly, the trouble with the Hüzzam scale is closely related to the Segâh problem: The interpretation of the scale's basic nature differs totally from the nature of the actual Hüzzam melodies.

All the three examples above are typical of theories drawn solely from printed sources with no references to the repertoire and performance practice. Now it is time to move on to a Macedonian study on Ottoman and Ottoman-influenced pieces. Ottoman classical compositions form the focal point of the following section.

Studying Ottoman Classical Music: An Example

Borivoje Džimrevski's study *The Čalgija Tradition in Macedonia* (1985) on instrumental čalgiska muzika shows typical scholarly attitudes towards 'Oriental music' in the Balkans. Several Ottoman classical pieces exist in the corpus, and Džimrevski treats them essentially similarly as folk music: He compares the qualities of 'Oriental music' with

[70] Dzhudzhev, *Bŭlgarska narodna,* 276, 278–279, 298.

[71] *Ibid*., 324.

the musical folklore of the West.[72] This approach is purely etic, and the research method is inductive with no adequate references to the formal and tonal structures of Ottoman classical music, although the informants used Ottoman terminology in the field recordings. Instead, Džimrevski tries to pigeonhole the scale structures of the melodies mainly according to Dzhudzhev's system.

All transcriptions in the book have g^1 as the final note—a practice Ilmari Krohn standardised as a means of comparing folk melodies.[73] Such uniformity misses the theoretical finals of makams on various scale steps and blurs their mutual relations. Furthermore, Džimrevski does not attempt to identify the pieces and their composers but regrets not having sheet music or other sources at hand which would enable comparison.[74] Actually, such material would be difficult to trace as long as the pieces and their composers remain unknown.

Leaning on the writings of Žganec and Dzhudhzev,[75] Džimrevski finds in his Macedonian material eleven *makam* scales whose origins are in ancient Greece, the Middle East and India, respectively. More specifically, scales with the interval of the augmented second presumably originate from Indian folk music.[76]

An illustrating example of Džimrevski's etic induction is *Taksim naaven* which the violinist Alo Tončov (b. 1910) recorded in Titov Veles in 1977.[77] This 'piece' is actually an Ottoman *fasıl* suite of several parts in *makam* Nihâvend. Whilst Džimrevski makes no effort to recognise either the pieces or the *usul* rhythmic modes, the sections are: (A) *Nihâvend taksim*, i.e., improvisation in flowing rhythm, (B) *Nihâvend peşrev* (usul devr-i kebir 28/4) by Tanburi Büyük Osman Bey (1816–85), (C) the *şarkı* song *Bakmıyor çeşm-i siyâh feryâde* (*usul* aksak 9/8) by Hacı Ârif Bey (1831–85), (D) *name*, that is the improvised section *mane* and (E) *Nihâvend saz semai* (*usul* aksak semai 10/4 and yürüksemâî 6/4) by Yusuf Paşa (1821–84).

Alo Tončov does not perform Nihâvend peşrev in its entirety; the recording consists of the first *hâne* section, the *ritornello teslim*, second

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72 Džimrevski, *Čalgiskata tradicija*, 48.

73 Ilmari Krohn, 'Welche ist die beste Methode, um Volks- und volksmässige Lieder nach ihrer melodischen (nicht textlichen) Beschaffenheit lexikalisch zu ordnen?', *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 4 (1902–1903), 649.

74 Džimrevski, *Čalgiskata tradicija,* 59.

75 Žganec, 'Orijentalizmi'; Dzhudhzev, *Bŭlgarska narodna,* 307–337; *Ibid*., 'Arabski elementi', 155–160.

76 Džimrevski, *Čalgiskata tradicija,* 49–50.

77 *Ibid*., 352–358.

hâne and *teslim*, after which follows a short transition to the *şarkı*. The musician has omitted the third and fourth *hâne* and the *teslim* after each of them. He frequently departs from the customary version of the composition, constituting a good example of the popularised performance aesthetics of Ottoman classical music. Interestingly, in the second *hâne*, the melody begins an octave higher than normally, only to descend relatively soon to the standard octave. This temporary transposition refers to the late nineteenth-century Ottoman nightclub style.

According to Džimrevski's analysis, section (A) is in the Oriental scale of *makam* Mustar (i.e., Myustaar or the lower part of *maqam* Hisar scale) with a low Hidžaskar tetrachord extension, section (B) is in *makam* Mustar I (i.e., *maqam* Hisar, the Hungarian Gypsy scale and *raga* Çrimhandra), whist section (D) is partly in the ancient Greek Aeolian scale which is akin to *makam* Isfahan Bejat, and partly in the ancient Greek Ionian scale, i.e. Džimrevski's *makam* Ušak. Section (E) is in *makam* Sultani Jegjah which is identical with to *raga* Surykânta.[78] Section (C) goes without analysis.

The ambiguity of Džimrevski's analysis method becomes obvious when comparing the results above with those of another version of the same piece. In his 1954 recording, Alo Tončov played a short introductory *taksim* and the first *hâne*, teslim and the second *hâne* of *Nihâvend peşrev* under the name *Pešref naaven*.[79] This time Džimrevski extracts the ancient Greek Aeolian scale (*makam* Isfahan Bejat), *makam* Mustar I, *makam* Hidžaskar (*raga* Mâyamâlavagaula), a pentachord and two kinds of hexachords from the melody.[80] To sum up, the analyses rarely match with the reality, and they lack any deeper understanding of the music they purport to explain.

Conclusion

As emerged from this study, narratives of the national memory in the Balkans have strengthened self-identity and contributed to the construction of the Other by sometimes redefining and appropriating Ottoman music or, more frequently, by marginalising and excluding it from the canons of national music histories. Balkan folk music research has utilised several discourses in processing music and its history: nationalism, Occidentalism and Orientalism. The strategies developed in order to handle the Orient within have meandered between Occidentalism and

[78] *Ibid*., 468, 470, 446, 449, 472.

[79] *Ibid*., 334–336.

[80] *Ibid*., 446, 470, 473, 426, 422, 432.

Orientalism, creating an ambiguity which belongs to the realm of Balkanism.

The emphasis on various discourses has varied geographically and over time: Through their knowledge of Greek church music, most Greek folk music scholars have had potential theoretical tools for analysing *makam*-related music. Scholars, however, have excluded such forms of music from the canon of national music due to their alleged Turkish, morally dubious, inauthentic or commercial nature. As examples, Ottoman-Greek café music, *rebetika* and *laika* spring to mind first.

This Balkan in-betweenness expresses itself especially clearly in analyses of major-sounding restricted makam Segâh tunes which are presented as being in the minor modes of ancient Greece. On the other hand, the very same melodies have been analysed as being in the Western major scale. Here, Segâh melodies have literally been seen through the distorting lens of Western concepts and theories.

One can adequately challenge the relevance of most Balkan scale theories for music they strive to analyse. Instead, just as myths are related to other myths, the scale theories are related to previous theories rather than to the music they try to elucidate; 'Oriental music' manifests itself to scholars as the inaccessible, mysterious Other. A huge gap separates the imagined Oriental music from what Ottoman *makams* and their folk equivalents or derivatives actually are and how they function. A proper understanding of the *makams* has been beyond the grasp of the Balkan scholar for over a century. The Orient—real or imagined—is ostensibly far away.

Acknowledgements

I wish to acknowledge my debts of gratitude, for their help and advice in completing the article, to Bülent Aksoy, Michael Aylward, Jelena Jovanović, Milan Milovanović, Panagiotis Poulos, Martin Stokes and Frank Thompson.

Ристо Пека Пенанен

ИЗГУБЉЕНИ У ЛЕСТВИЦАМА: ПРОУЧАВАЊЕ ФОЛКЛОРА НА БАЛКАНУ И ОТОМАНСКО НАСЛЕЂЕ

(Резиме)

Научници који проучавају музички фолклор Балкана на различите начине тумаче оно што сматрају оријенталним или турским музичким наслеђем. Централна разматрања у овом чланку посвећена су конструкцији

„оријенталних лествица“, као и начинима на које су научници замишљали оријенталну музику и опажали културну позицију Балкана између Оријента и Европе. У чланку се анализирају дискурси национализма, оријентализма, окцидентализма и балканизма.

Наративи о националној меморији на Балкану допринели су честом конструисању Другог путем маргинализације и искључивања отоманске музике из канона националних музичких историја. Научници су различито приступали „осетљивој“ отоманској теми. Недовољно јасне оријенталне карактеристике биле су представљане као домаће, поједини научници су тврдили да су отомански Турци само имитирали арапску и персијску културу, а југословенски истраживачи су изворишта оријенталних скала на Балкану видели у лествицама индијских класичних рага.

Иако интервал прекомерне секунде заступа Оријент у дискурсу о оријентализму, тај интервал није свуда присутан у отоманској класичној и другим формама турске музике. Одсуство овог симболичног интервала често наводи научнике са Балкана да мелодије *макама* анализирају преко „старих грчких модуса“.

Ослањање на западњачке концепте и искључиво коришћење штампаних извора типични су за проучавање фолклора на Балкану. Проблеми који из тога проистичу посебно су очигледни у третману отоманских *макама* из породице Сегах (Segâh). Као прво, збуњујућа сличност мелодија Сегах *макама* са западњачким мелодијама може да наведе на две врсте погрешних интерпретација, које обе проистичу из примене западних лествичних концепата. Друго, трансформација *макам* Мистеар (Müstear) лествице у Бугарској, резултат је људске грешке. Треће, интерпретација основних карактеристика Хизам (Hüzzam) лествице у потпуности се разликује од природе савремене Хизам мелодије. Студија Боривоја Џимревског, *Чалгијска традиција у Македонији* (1985), представља типичан пример научног односа према „оријенталној музици“ на Балкану.

Могла би се оправдано преиспитати релевантност већине балканских теорија о лествицама кад је у питању сама музика чијој анализи оне теже. Као што су митови у релацији са другим митовима, тако су и теорије о лествицама пре у релацијама са претходним теоријама него са музиком коју покушавају да осветле. Стратегије развијене са циљем да се о Оријенту расправља унутар токова који кривудају од окцидентализма до оријентализма, производе двосмисленост која се зове балканизам.

(С енглеског превела Катарина Томашевић)

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